1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

KINSHIP GROUPS AND POLITICAL DIVISIONS

[594] The smallest social grouping in the Rif is, of course, the biological family, consisting of father, mother, and offspring; but the importance of this fundamental group is often obscured by the large family group called *awar* (plural *iwawen*), or "vein." [1] The *vein* consists of a father, his wives, descendants, and descendants' wives, and his brothers, their wives, descendants, and descendants' wives. Since Riffian society is patrilineal and families are usually patronymic, daughters who have married into another *vein* become affiliated with the group into which they have married, and offspring of these daughters are considered to belong to their fathers' *veins*. When the brothers composing the oldest generation in a *vein* die, it splits into as many *veins* as there were brothers. Thus the sons of each deceased brother become the brothers forming the elder stratum of the new *vein*. In this way during the course of generations a single union of a man and his wife may give rise to numerous related *veins*.

These related *veins* collectively take the name of *ighs* (plural *ikhsan*), or "bone." [2] The *bone* is, however, something more important than a mere collection of related *veins*. In regions of sedentary life it generally takes the form of a village, or politically independent section of a village, and may include *veins* descended not only from the eponymous ancestor of the *bone* but also from strangers who have been adopted into the *bone*. The arrival of these strangers who become ancestors of spurious *veins* is due to the Riffian custom of selling property in order to pay fines or blood money assessed by the governing body. A man who has sold all his landed property and livestock in order to meet such an obligation feels ashamed to remain in his own village and often fears reprisal for his offence, and migrates, generally swiftly and secretly, to some other part of the Rif. When he has arrived at a sufficiently distant village, he hires himself out to a landowner in that village, or, if he seems to be a valuable potential adjunct to the village's military forces, is given land by popular subscription. He thus becomes a member of the *bone* into which his ill-fortune has thrust him, and is expected to marry into this *bone*, generally taking as wife a daughter of the man who first employed and sheltered him, if that man happens to have a daughter available. The newcomer and his wife become the forebears of a new *vein* in the *bone*, and this new *vein* may in turn split time after time until the *bone* contains a large number of alien *veins*. The *veins* descended from strangers exist under the disadvantage that they are not allowed any part in the government,[3] but are at the same time expected to contribute

[1] "Vein" is the literal translation of this word. I have discovered no sociological term in the English language exactly comparable to it, and hence have decided that to translate it literally, and to render this translation consistently throughout, will be less confusing to the reader than to leave it in its Berber form. In describing a highly complex social organization such as is found in the Rif clarity is of greater importance than philological exactitude.

[2] "Bone" is the literal translation, and has been retained through lack of any exact equivalent, although either "sib" or "gens" might be loosely applied. The endogamic character of the bone is not implied in either of these terms.

[3] Wherever the Riffian type of government is found, this is true. Under the Arab system the stranger restriction naturally cannot apply.

602 571 613 619 596 2) (The author's) concept of "groups": a) group of blood ties (i.e. kin group)--family jajgu or "ascending ramus" (read "lineage branch")[20] and dharfiqth or "family group" (read "lineage"); b) social group--jma'ath: "fraction" or canton[21] (khums, rba')[22] and tribe or dhaqbitsh; c) political group--liff or alliance; d) religious group--tariqa or religious brotherhood, and murabitic families (saints); and e) economic group--rural lands and property: storehouses[23], markets, Jews, "beneficial institutions"[24].

594 596 613 Rifians are thus grouped into three "associations" (i.e. levels) of kin groups: 1) hearth or (nuclear) family or dhaddarth[25]; 2) "ascending ramus" or jajgu (lineage branch); and 3) "family group" or dharfiqth (patrilineage).

594 3) The Nuclear Family or Hearth:--This is formed by the union of a man, a woman and their (unmarried) children, and it should be looked at from both the conjugal and filial standpoints. From a 594 595 183 [554] conjugal standpoint, it may be composed of a man and his four wives (and unmarried children). But Rifians are polygynous only in theory; in practice, only the well-to-do (such as shaikhs) are polygynous, and even they seldom have more than two wives. A poor man only tends to take a second wife if he has to, if, for example, he has divorced the first one for not bearing him any sons. The function of polygyny 595 182 [181] is to produce sons in order to prevent the extinction of the family in a society where the major law is "that of the strongest"[26], as well as to produce a sufficient number of male children to take care of agricultural tasks. "Oriental sensuality" is not a factor here, in any way.

571 against the actual jobholder did not influence the Spanish authorities,
557 he resorted to his supreme argument, the great length of time that he had held the office in question previously and that now his turn had come again--it was time to shift office holders, as the Spaniards themselves did with their own governments and political positions!

f) Filial Society:--The Rifian (nuclear) family may be com-
594 595 posed of the father, several (i.e. up to and including four)[44] wives,
847 848 and legitimate children. Illegitimate children, along with their mothers, are killed, and today, the mother of an illegitimate child usually kills it herself if her husband does not already notice it (or her).

g) Dissolution of Family:--This occurs only through the death
768 [587] of the father. When he dies, his eldest son takes over his duties as head of the family, if he is of age (i.e., old enough to do so); if not, the father's brother assumes this position and marries his brother's widow[45].

h) Family Relationships:--The father is the nuclear family's
592 593 legal representative and administrator, and he is thus responsible for the faults of its component members. He administers property freely and can disinherit his children. He punishes the members of his family at will, though he does not kill or wound them. He has the authority to marry off his daughters and sons, although in practice he may be thwarted by opposition on his children's part; the latter, if they are sons, may leave home, and, if they are daughters possessing a measure of spirit, they will be disgusted (by their father's behavior). The father distributes work equitably and evenly.

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593 The mother has the right to punish her children, but cannot wound them.

[562] Sons enjoy a preferential situation within the family; they help their father in agricultural tasks and in defense of the hearth and patrimony. They watch over the women of the house. Those of age
883 (i.e. who have reached puberty)[46] start to fast during the month of
[785] Ramadan, as well as starting to plow and harvest the crops, after they have become too old to pasture goats. On reaching puberty, also, sons may spend nights away from home or be absent for periods of time.
[584] They do not own property. If a son should reject the matrimonial proposition (put to him by his father) he must look for the bride-price (himself), telling his father of this obligation. He may leave his home without having to renounce his inheritance. After marriage,
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593 although living in his father's house, he builds a bread-oven in
[591] order to separate his meals from those of his father. He is then a contributor (apart from his father, who generally hands land over to him to work, but who is not obliged to give him his share of the
[594] inheritance.) He pays his fines, and contributes his turn to the fqih's barley allotment, and forms a separate nubth on his own.
883 On reaching puberty, he attends the mosque and goes to markets and
885 weddings; when he marries, he begins to take part in the council
623 meetings to defend his rights; he enters a liff[47]; and sometimes he
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794 becomes a member of a religious brotherhood[48].
575 Sons and daughters are their father's property. A divorced
593 wife, even though nursing a child, cannot take it with her; and there
586 have been cases in which her own father has returned her children to her husband.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

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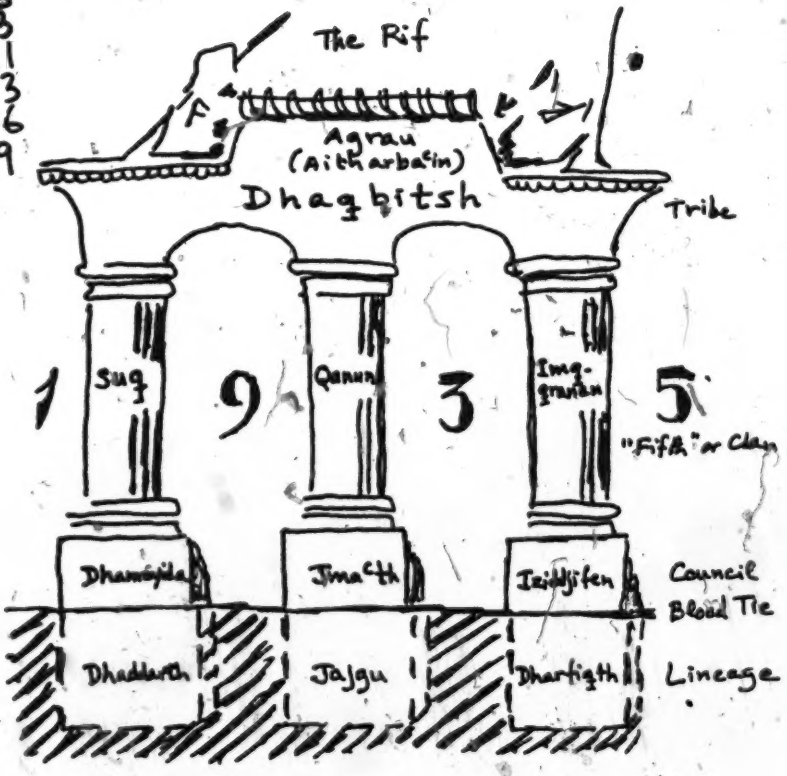

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure

[P. 127-B]

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organization, as in the settlement morphology and house distribution of their communities, we may discern the state of disintegration which the Rifian "republics" had attained, the individual rapaciousness of each one and the anarchy of its component parts.

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure[113]

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We see in this graphic representation of the principal units in Rifian social structure how these units are originated in the lineages (Sp. original, grupos familiares) whose three ascending categories of nuclear family (Sp. or hogar, R. nubth), lineage branch (tajgu) and lineage proper (dharfiqth), with genealogical relationship as their distinguishing characteristic, form the roots or base of the Rifian arch, as diagrammed here. On reaching ground level (in an upward direction), they become transformed into three other (larger) social units whose distinctive features are expressed above and the apex of which is the tribe (dhaqbitsh), which is bound together with its autonomous institutional parts by the institutional apex of the agrau, or tribal council, the maximal assembly in the region. This arch gives us an idea of the (relative) independence (autonomy?) of its columns, representing clans sustained by the nuclei of jma'ths; and all this gives us also an idea of the whole and of the harmony reigning between this whole and its different parts, of its consistency, of its solidity, and of the importance of all these factors.

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FOOTNOTE: A

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113--A few comments must first be made on Blanco's notation of this diagram. Starting below ground level, we have, from left to right, dhaddarth (Blanco's spelling taddartz), "house"; jajgu (Blanco's spelling yasgo), "lineage branch"; and dharfiqth (Blanco's spelling tarfik), "lineage"; and further to the right, the commentary "family group" (grupo familiar). At or just below ground level, slightly above, we see the commentary, to the right and above "family group", "line of blood" (linea de sangre). At ground level, from left to right, we have dhamzyida (Blanco's spelling tamesguida), "mosque"; jma'th (Blanco's spelling yemaa); and iziddjifen (Blanco's spelling isIifen), "lineage headmen"; and, further to the right, the commentary "council" (consejo). Further up, each of the three columns proper is labeled, from left to right, suq (Blanco's spelling sok), "market"; qanun (Blanco's spelling kanon), "custom", and imqqranen (Blanco's spelling imkranen), "council members (of the clan)"; and further to the right is the commentary "clan" (fraction). The apex is the dhaqbitsh (Blanco's spelling taqbilt), or "tribe", with a commentary by Blanco to the right: "tribe" (tribu); above this, in brackets, is Aitharba'in "tribal council" (Blanco's spelling ait arbain); above this, agrau (Blanco's spelling agrao), "council meeting site"; and above all, is The Rif (El Rif).

I find this diagram, with its ever upward and onward orientation, very neat as a conceptual plaything...In its theoretical and abstract niceties, it appears almost more the work of a Frenchman than that of a Spaniard. Could this possibly be attributed to Montagne's undeniable influence on Blanco's thinking? However, I seriously question the diagram on the grounds of to what extent it really reflects structural realities (insofar as a structural model of any society created by an anthropologist can be said to approximate the social realities of that society) of Rifian society; and also on the grounds that territorial vs. segmentary features of Rifian social structure, and the roles that these features play within that structure, are neither defined vis-a-vis each other nor in relation to the whole. The whole structure as Blanco gives it is, in fact, too neat, too simple, and too classic (or perhaps Doric?), like the Greek (and most unRifian) arch upon which he models it.

A, [See diagram on p.127-B--Analyst]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 J) Note on the Rifian Jma'th (Noticia sobre la Yemáa)

N.B. Undated MSS., probably written 1934-1936, Catalogue No. M1/6, Sección Africa, National Library, Madrid.

"An old, confused and nostalgic tribal memory of which so many people are unaware, although they all utilize it and nobody expects it. How does it work, and how can it best be reactivated?"

Organs and Functions:

621 613 1) The jma'th is the association of several lineages (grupos familiares) or dharfiqin toward social ends and objectives. It constitutes the elementary unit of Rifian social structure.[1]

[691] 2) It is personified in the iziddjifen, the headmen of these lineage-groups and their authentic representatives, zealous guardians of Custom (qa'ida), which is often codified into written qanums established during an agraw or council-meeting.

3) It is visibly manifested in the mosque, the local community and the lands which belong to it, all of which give rise to a spatial discontinuity and elastic boundaries, the origin of not a few quarrels.

4) Objectives: to regulate the coexistence of these (lineage) groups, to watch over them and to administrate their common patrimony.

5) Obligations: these were to attend to communal services and property (prayer,...education, hospitality, external relations, harka, prestations, collective responsibility and distribution of property, lands, irrigation, spoils of war, and fines), with the exception, in theory, of anything relating to personal and possessory status (marriage, inheritance).

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[594] [114] 1--The elementary social unit, in the Rif as elsewhere, is the elementary or nuclear family, and hence Blanco is here, again, in error. A more easily defensible argument might have been a consideration of the jma'th as a kind of elementary political unit.

627 very scarce and will soon give out altogether.

627 This period is that of smoothing over. Those responsible hide
614 their possessions, assure (the imgharen) that they have nothing, only a goat and a cow and a tiny plot of land: this is all they can offer, along with their house. The rest had been mortgaged[30], etc. The imgharen, sure in their convictions, do not agree....The members of the victim's family deny having any more possessions.

The neighbors of those responsible for the crime who are also obliged to put up lodgers become impatient and denounce possible concealments. The imgharen continue without deciding, and then their buying begins. Finally a moment arrives in which they hear no more offers or denunciations of those responsible for the crime. All, including the coterie, grumble, become tired and begin to desert, finally going back
627 to their homes. The notables, satiated and fed up, see that this is
614 the time to stop in the struggle and investigations, because of what
613 they hurried to auction when it was taken over, the gross value of which they distribute equally among the lineages concerned in the
● [594] agreement, except for that of the man who violated it. This distribution, which the representatives of the lineages present parcel out among their lineage-mates, must in turn be parcelled out by the latter among the nuclear families, and by these among the members of each
[262] family. And thus, one fine day, the imgharen and their numerous coterie, nourished with barley, bread, butter and hard-boiled eggs, abandon those places which they have left as clean as the palms of their hands; for Rifian notions of justice are now satisfied and the lineage responsible for the crime remains in misery.